

## Paid Public Notice

March, 1982

# MORE PERFECT UNION

Executive Summary

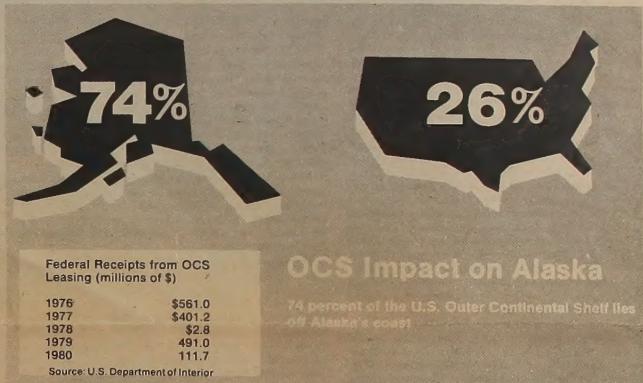
A Report of the Alaska Statehood Commission

## Statehood Commission Authorized

The Alaska Statehood Commission was authorized on Aug. 26, 1980, by a referendum vote of 46,705 to 45,598 to study and to consider and recommend appropriate changes in that relationship. In the act (Chapter 161, Session Laws of Alaska 1980) calling for the referendum, the Alaska Legislature found that the state's relationship under the federal government inhibits reasonable self-control by Alaskans of their lives, land and water, fish and wildlife, and trade and commerce.

We first convened in October, 1980 and elected Brian Rogers, of Fairbanks, as temporary chairman. Other members serving on the commission are: H.A. "Red" Boucher, Ruth Burnett, Nelda Calhoun, Evelyn L. Conwell, John E. Dapcevich, Gregg Erickson, Susan S. Greene, Edward Merdes, and Brian Rogers. The commissioners represent all regions of Alaska, hailing from Sitka, Juneau, Homer, Anchorage, Nenana, Fairbanks and Kotzebue.

In December 1980 Jack Coghill—mayor of Nenana, former state senator and delegate to the 1955-1956 state Constitutional Convention—was



elected unanimously as permanent commission chairman.

We have been meeting about every six weeks, with time for public comment at each session. We have held meetings in Sitka, Homer, Kotzebue, Juneau, Fairbanks, Ketchikan and Anchorage.

The law provides that the commissioners' terms will expire in January, 1983, after a final report to the legislature and people. The commission's preliminary report of its findings was submitted to the legislature on Jan. 19, 1982. This is the executive summary of that report.

## Commission to study relationships

Eighteen months ago the Legislature by act and seventeen months ago the people by referendum vote expressed their frustration with Alaska's relationship with the federal government. It was the first time since the Civil War that the people of a state has asked for an examination of the state of statehood.

Alaskans have had many frustrations with the federal government. At the core of most is land. This is not surprising. To study the history of Alaska, in fact to study the history of our nation itself, is to study the problem of land and its use and control.

Since statehood in 1959, Alaska has struggled to make the federal government honor its Statehood Act promise to convey nearly 104 million acres to the fledgling state. Now half of that land has been conveyed and just within the past six months the federal government has promised to begin transferring the rest. Constant prodding and vigilance on the part of the state may put an end to the painful and divisive land question. However, the potential of a new federal challenge to the use of Alaska's land and resources stands before us. In a well organized effort, the heavily populated east and midwest states are hoping to use their congressional power to put a federal limit or tax on state resource revenues.

In their hunger for cheaper energy and for federal dollars, they would thus strike a killing blow to one of the last remnants of state sovereignty: the power to raise revenue.

This is our greatest danger.

The federal presence is greater in Alaska than in any other state. That big presence is not merely a result of the state's tiny population. Because Alaska is strategically located next to the Soviet Union and commands polar air routes, there is a heavy and largely welcome—national military

presence. By being noncontiguous Alaska also feels the negative impact of laws designed for commerce between contiguous states. Having international borders, Alaska finds itself the object of treaty-making. Fish, marine mammals and land mammals migrating across international borders attract federal and international controls.

With 74 percent of the nation's potentially oil-rich Outer Continental Shelf surrounding Alaska, the federal government says that the wishes of the state to cushion fisheries and coastal towns from the impacts of drilling must give way in the national interest to the goal of energy self-sufficiency. The rapid development proposed in the offshore areas will bring rapid problems for which the state will have to pay out of its own pocket, for it will not share the income from oil finds on the federally owned sea bottoms.

Alaska's short history as a state also happens to coincide with a 20-year national diminution of the power of all the states through actions of the federal government. Some Alaskans, aware of the heavy federal hand in Alaskan affairs, perhaps thought that the interference was unique to this state, a holdover from the paternalistic days of territorial status. Our studies on the status of Alaska within the United States have shown us, however, that the penetration of the federal government into the farthest corners of American life is the rule, not the exception. We share the burden with others.

Our charge as a state commission is to look beyond the immediate conflicts to review the future of Alaska in the federal union. We are midway in our studies.

We have indeed found that the federal government has reneged on its solemn promises to the state in the Statehood Act. We have also discovered that because Alaska tends to be on the new

edge of federal-state relationships, what happens to us may soon happen in other states, particularly the other resource states. Our preliminary report to the people and to the legislature thus deals not only with the problems of Alaska, but with problems shared by all states.

The change of federal administration in the past year has salved some of the wounds and solved some of the problems which existed when the commission was created. But it is clear that changes in federal administrations, however beneficial, will not solve the decades-long erosion of states' powers within the U.S. federal system. For the states to redress that loss will require constitutional amendment.

### Resource income

It is crucial for Alaska and the other resource states to protect our right to manage our own resources and derive income from them. Managing resources and receiving revenues from them have been the historic right of all the states from the time of the Founding.

Limitation or loss of resource revenues caused by congressional action would strike at the principal means by which resource states are able to control their destinies, the development of their economies, the future well being of their people and the quality of life within their borders.

For Alaska in particular, resource wealth provides us with the ability to do what residents of other states have already done—develop roads, schools, sewer and water systems, power generating facilities, airports, ports and harbors and cultural facilities. Without this ability, Alaska will decline to second class status within the family of states.

R. S. Nov 2/82

Order No.

Price

Act No.

The Statehood Commission's first and strongest conclusion is this:

*If we Alaskans intend to follow our own vision of the state's development, we must be prepared to fight aggressively with our full legal, economic and political powers to protect our resource income and our control over resource development.*

From the new federal administration, we have a court-endorsed commitment that the United States will—at last—live up to the promise made 22 years ago and will begin to convey to Alaska the remaining 57 million acres of her land. Welcome as that is, the Statehood Commission's second conclusion is this:

*The United States has reneged on its land conveyance obligations in the Alaska Statehood Act. It could easily do so again if Alaska fails to muster its full legal, economic and political powers to compel the federal government to live up to its solemn promises.*

## Changes in relationship

It is clear to the commission that Alaska cannot afford simply to reect events taking place at the federal level. Fundamental changes in the federal-state relationship will be required. The most drastic change in the federal-state relationship would be to end it, through Alaska independence.

We have studied independence. It stands as one extreme of possible alternative forms of association. The other extreme would be for Alaska to revert to being a mere possession of the United States as it was in 1867, ruled by Congress, governed by the military or the Department of Interior. Between are a number of possibilities, which, like independence, we discuss at length in the body of this report.

Early on we recognized that secession—unilateral withdrawal of Alaska from the United States—is just one way to achieve independence, and would be the most extreme and patently illegal of these methods. There is no doubt that the United States would strike down any efforts to secede with overwhelming force. The Civil War answered the question of secession once and for all.

Are there then *legal* ways, we asked ourselves, that Alaska or indeed any other state might separate from the Union? Perhaps. The Constitution is silent. So is United States history. The Supreme Court has held that the Union is undissolvable. Constitutional change would probably be required.

Could Alaska sustain itself economically as an independent nation if it sought and achieved legal separation from the Union? Our answer is yes. Alaska has—at least temporarily—the wealth to sustain independence. It has a population bigger than that of 30 members of the United Nations. But that population is thinly spread over a remote land mass more than five times the size of the United States. National defense would still have to depend upon protection by the United States or some other power.

Is any form of legal separation desirable or wise? Our answer is no. There exist no circumstances now that justify independence. There exist compelling circumstances that call for remaining in the Union. One of them is that the world is dangerous for small countries that border on the Soviet Union. Another is that small countries are more vulnerable than large nations to threats by internal and external terror and governmental overthrow. But the foremost reasons for remaining within the Union are our deepest bonds of American citizenship, of shared customs and rights and our debt as Alaskans to the rest of the

## Federal Tax Burden on Alaskans



Total tax  
\$8,134  
\$6,206

\$1,928  
\$6,206

These figures assume a cost of living differential of 26 percent.

Source: Institute of Social and Economic Research

nation for helping support us in times of danger and of economic need.

So our findings are:

*Alaska could support legal independence for as long as its oil and other resource wealth holds out, but independence is neither desirable nor wise. We can conceive of no set of circumstances that would cause us to recommend independence for Alaska in our final report. We choose to set aside this alternative from further consideration.*

*The other structural changes that we examined—free association, commonwealth, territorial status, dividing the state—fail to be reasonable alternatives to statehood. We choose to set aside these alternatives from further consideration.*

There may be other alternatives which we have not yet divined. If there are other forms of association brought to our attention, we shall study them. On the matter of dividing the state, we have noted the moral difficulty involved in that just as Alaska is seeking greater self-control from the federal government, some parts of Alaska are voicing a desire for seeking greater self-control from the state government. Thus . . .

*We urge that the legislature take special notice of the desires within Alaska for greater regional self-government and take advantage of the opportunities under Alaska's constitution to decentralize state power.*

## Federalism impact

Our studies into the relationship between Alaska and the federal government have also caused us to ask this question: Has the evolution of federalism in the United States stopped, with the federal government overwhelmingly dominant over the states? Or is it continuing? If so, in what directions?

Our studies have forced us to conclude that the relationship between the national government and the states has grown recently without guidance, developing into a wild garden of intertangled laws, regulations and mandates. It is a garden still capable of producing fine fruits for its owners. But it is overgrown with weeds of confusion, and everywhere it is brambled by the vigorous, choking, evergreen arms of the federal government. The entire system begs for conscientious tending and vigorous pruning.

Since the Civil War, and particularly in the past

50 years, the drift of federalism in this nation has been to give the national government ever increasing amounts of power. Power is centralizing in Washington, D.C. It will continue to aggregate there unless the people and the states as governments act to reverse the flow. As matters now stand, the states, envisioned by the nation's Founders to be the governments that mediate between the citizen and the national center, have started to become branch offices of the central government.

These generalizations are ably documented by the vast studies made by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, and by our own studies of Alaska's statehood experience with the federal government.

The Reagan Administration has embraced with gusto the principle of returning to the states some of the power to decide. This is symbolized by the President's new Advisory Committee on Federalism. It remains to be seen, however, whether the Reagan principles can be transformed into permanent results. The administration has devolved back upon the states some welfare and other programs initially ordained and mainly financed by the federal government.

The President is now recommending, under his "New Federalism," a transfer to the states of many social programs now primarily administered by the federal government. These efforts do not necessarily promise permanent change in the relation between Alaska and the federal government. These recent changes are political and subject to cancellation by another administration. So, too, is the climate of cooperation with the states announced by the administration. That climate has been epitomized by the general attitudes and agreements worked out over land between Alaska and the Department of Interior, in the person of Secretary James Watt. Welcome as these changes have been in contrast with the tenure of the previous administration, they are as yet evidenced largely by words and not deeds.

While the good-neighbor agreement between the Secretary of the Interior and the State of Alaska has promise, issues involving oil exploitation of Alaska's Outer Continental Shelf will test the federal government's commitment to its rhetoric. Seventy-four percent of the Outer Continental Shelf under the U.S. flag borders Alaska. But oil development there will not put a penny directly into the state's treasury. All money generated on the shelf will go to the federal government or to the oil companies. Alaska, however, will bear the impacts on its fisheries, its remote towns and villages and on its economy and society in general.

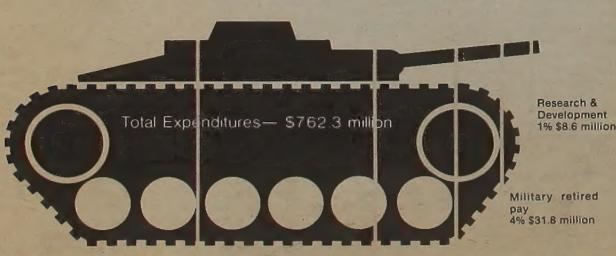
Even if political changes in federal policy work out as well as we hope, we still have to look beyond the present administration. In short, after Watt, what?

## Constitutional change

One way to insure permanent change in the relation between Alaska and the central government is by constitutional changes giving more powers to all states. Our studies of American experience and of the experiences and methods of foreign federal democracies only prove that realizing constitutional change is difficult and tedious. Nonetheless, we believe that constitutional amendment is a practical and appropriate avenue to achieve changes in the federal-state relationship, though few states have really considered the potential of this method.

One reason why the states have seen power slip away from them is that they have not exercised their powers under Article V of the Constitution to have Congress call a national constitutional convention. The Founders obviously expected this power to be used. But opponents to a national convention say that such a convention will "run

## Military Influence in Alaska's Economy



Source: Institute of Social & Economic Research

Military Pay  
40% \$305.3 million

Operations &  
Maintenance  
34% \$35.2 million

Civilian Pay  
16% \$121.8 million

Research &  
Development  
1% \$8.6 million

Military retired  
pay  
4% \$31.8 million

## ALASKA STATEHOOD COMMISSION

away"—that any delegates yielded by democratic process in a nation of 226 million inhabitants would repeal the Bill of Rights and dismantle the framework of the world's oldest constitutional republic. Because the Constitution is silent on how such a convention should operate, opponents also say that one should not be called until Congress legislates the rules. Congress has steadfastly refused to do so.

We find these arguments unconvincing. We do find convincing the argument of Gov. Bruce Babbitt of Arizona that it is now time for the states to force the decision by having a convention called under Article V for the single purpose of setting forth the form and powers of any future national convention.

*We note that since the Statehood Commission's preliminary report to the legislature was published Jan. 19, Alaska has become the 31st state to apply to Congress for a national constitutional convention to consider an amendment to put a spending lid on the federal budget. Knowing what the voting power of Alaska would be at such a convention is extremely important. It is important to know whether each state would have one vote at such a convention or whether votes would be distributed proportionately by population. Thus, the necessity, we think, for having a convention first to set the rules for future conventions.*

**United States and other chief elected and appointed officers of the federal and state governments be invited.**

For more than 20 years the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, founded by Congress, has been examining the health of the federal body politic. We have studied this organization's many excellent publications and are in accord with its recommendation that the states band together to fight in court unwarranted federal intrusions into state and local government.

*Therefore we recommend that Alaska join with other states to establish a legal defense fund and organization to monitor and begin legal actions opposing coercive federal restrictions, burdensome regulations and excessive use by Congress of its commerce power to override state laws.*

**Non-state possessions**

We have studied how other parts of the United States are faring with the federal government. Our studies naturally led us to examine what is happening with the other noncontiguous parts of the country—Hawaii and the unincorporated territories, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam and American Samoa.

Hawaii is faring well under statehood, but the others suffer the limbo of second-class citizenship

*We recommend that Alaska set up formal meetings with representatives of Hawaii and the noncontiguous possessions to explore common interests and problems, particularly those which relate to discriminatory transportation laws like the Jones Act.*

**Common causes**

We have conferred with the Sagebrush Rebels and have great sympathy for their desire to remove themselves from under the shadow of the federal landowner.

We think they are performing a great service in alerting the rest of the country that federal ownership and management of the public lands are causing great unhappiness. These lands amount to one-third of the nation's entire area. They are principally concentrated in Alaska and the other western states.

We also have made our own and read others' studies on the Sagebrush Rebels' contention that the states have a legal right to take title to the federal public lands.

The weight of legal opinion is that this contention has little strength in law and that going to court to press a state claim to the federal lands will likely fail.

*We therefore recommend that Alaska not involve itself in apparently futile court efforts to force the federal government to surrender title of its public domain to the states. Such an effort would waste time and money and would raise false hopes.*

We do think Alaskans should vigorously support other efforts by the Sagebrush Rebels to allow the states to have partnership in the management of federal lands within their borders.

We cannot emphasize too much that the Sagebrush Rebels and other western resource states are our natural allies in finding off any efforts by Congress to limit, tax or confiscate state resource revenues.

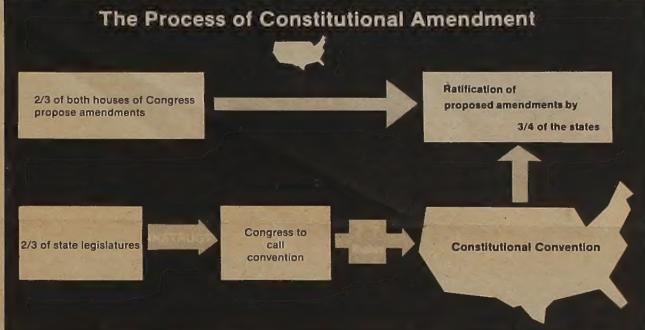
We cannot emphasize too much that if Alaska truly intends to protect its new, desperately needed resource revenues, it must build coalitions with these states. One state alone carries little weight.

Northeast and Midwest states have realized this for years. They have already built a successful coalition. It aims to redistribute revenues of the energy-resource states to those parts of the country facing money shortages.

*We thus recommend that Alaska ask other resource states to join it in establishing in Washington, D.C., an advocacy institute to research issues of special western concern and discuss its findings with the national press and with Congress and the administration.*

Our studies have also indicated to us the common interests that Alaska has over trade, management and energy matters with the western Canadian provinces and territories.

*We recommend that Alaska pursue its common interests with western Canadian provinces and territories to the full extent allowed a sovereign state under the Constitution. Alaska should invite other western states and the western Canadian provinces to join it in establishing a conference like the Northeastern Governors and Eastern Canadian Premiers Conference.*



We think that Alaska, because of its experiences with the massive federal presence within its borders, should take the lead in proposing constructive solutions to state-federal problems. Other amendments to the Constitution may be part of these solutions.

We therefore bring to the attention of the people of Alaska and the Legislature an amendment originally proposed by Arizona's Gov. Babbitt, but rewritten in language arising out of our efforts to make sense of the state of federalism in this country. It would amend the Constitution as follows:

*"Except for laws dealing with defense, foreign affairs or civil rights, any act of Congress may be disapproved by a vote of the legislatures of two-thirds of the states. A law so disapproved shall cease to be valid from the time that Congress is formally notified that the requisite number of state legislatures have voted to rescind."*

The aim of an amendment giving state legislatures the power to rescind domestic laws would be to restore to the states some of the indirect power they once had in federal affairs when state legislatures directly elected U.S. senators. Such an amendment would breathe life into the 10th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, which reserves to the states and the people the powers not specifically granted to the national government.

*We intend in 1982 to study the powers of the states in the United States today, to see whether they can be precisely defined; and if not, what actions are necessary to define them.*

**Other Support**

Early we realized that if Alaska is serious about correcting deficiencies in the current relation between itself and the federal government, it must seek broad support from other states. This would be especially true for getting actions under way to amend the Constitution.

*We thus recommend that the legislature and the governor champion the cause of starting change in the federal order by sponsoring a national convocation on forging a new federalism to which the President of the*

familiar to Alaskans who lived under territorial status.

Alaskans, having had the experience, can sympathize with those Americans who now live under second-class citizenship.

*We therefore recommend that the people of Alaska support the efforts of the non-state possessions (including Washington, D.C.) to achieve greater self-government through democratic means.*

We also found that Alaska and other noncontiguous parts of the nation share problems with transportation and other laws that discriminate against them or which fail to apply logically to states and possessions separated from the rest of the country.



## Future studies

Thus far in the life of our commission, we have spent most of our time making those studies demanded of us by law. We find we still have many trails yet to explore to their end.

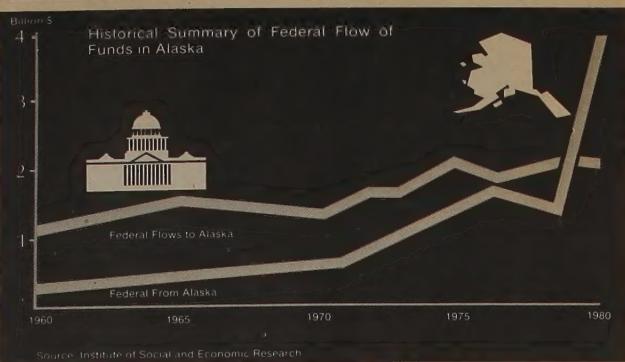
From our current economic studies we find that the federal government now earns \$2 or more for every \$1 that it spends in Alaska. Indeed, though per-capita federal expenditures in Alaska exceed the national average by 80 percent, per-capita federal revenue collections from Alaska exceed the national average by 205 percent. Alaska is more than paying its own way in the family of states.

We expect to update our studies on this subject as soon as figures are available for the federal fiscal year just past.

But because knowing this economic information is so important to the state for its own planning and for dealing with national efforts to limit or seize Alaska's resource revenues, we recommend that the state government assign to one of its agencies an annual study of federal spending and federal gains in Alaska.

Our studies have demonstrated that the federal income tax lands unfairly on Alaskans and drives the cost of doing business up, distorting investment decisions. In our next year we expect to examine how the income tax can be made equitable for Alaskans and all other Americans living in high-cost-of-living areas.

We find from our preliminary studies of the Jones Act and of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 that they discriminate blatantly against Alaskans and help drive up the cost of living here. We support efforts by our congressional delegation to amend the 1936 act to allow subsidized U.S. vessels to provide cargo service between Alaska and the other states. We



Source: Institute of Social and Economic Research

shall make recommendations on both acts in our final report.

State law requires us not to jeopardize the rights of Alaska Natives by any of our final recommendations. We are pursuing a study of those rights through a contract with the state Department of Law.

We are looking at how Alaska may become more formally involved in treaty making by the federal government that affects our fisheries, marine mammals, migratory land herds and other resources.

We intend to devote major effort toward defining just what the rights of the states are now, after 200 years of federal experiment, and report on how those rights may be increased and secured.

We hope to review federal laws and administrative practices to find ways for giving Alaska greater control over its resources and their development.

We hope, in short, after holding public hearings on this report, to be able next year to tell Alaskans how they may profoundly change their working relationship with the federal government.

If we want to control our own destinies through the agency of our state, then we must act. We cannot have independence but we can be vigorously independent. We can call upon our sister states to join with us in reform, to restore health to the first and so far finest federal democracy.

## Summary of findings

**1. Danger to revenues.** If Alaskans intend to follow their own vision of the state's development, we must be prepared to fight aggressively with our full legal, economic and political powers to protect our resource income and our control over how it will be used.

**2. Failure of trust by U.S.** The United States has reneged in the past on its land agreements in the Alaska Statehood Act. It could easily do so again if Alaska fails to muster its full powers to compel the federal government to live up to its solemn promises.

**3. Independence.** Alaska could support legal independence for as long as its oil and other resource wealth hold out, but independence is neither desirable nor wise. We can conceive of no set of circumstances that would cause us to recommend independence for Alaska in our final report. We choose to set aside this alternative from further consideration.

**4. Other structural alternative forms of association.** We studied other associations: commonwealth, free association, partition, and a return to territorial status. None, we feel, is preferable to statehood.

**5. Regional self-government.** Though we decline to recommend partition, we urge that the Legislature take special notice of the desires within Alaska for greater regional self-government, and take advantage of all the opportunities under Alaska's Constitution to decentralize state power.

**6. Clarify constitutional convention.** The Alaska State Legislature should join with other states to apply to Congress under Article V of the U.S. Constitution for the convening of a national constitutional convention, for the sole purpose of defining the procedures that would govern all future constitutional conventions called by the states. As in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, those rules should specify equal votes for each state.

**7. Veto of federal legislation.** The people and the legislature should consider over the next year the wisdom of seeking an amendment to the Constitution that would read: "Except for laws dealing with defense, foreign affairs or civil rights, any act of Congress may be disapproved by a vote of the legislatures of two-thirds of the states. A law so disapproved shall cease to be valid from the time that Congress is formally notified that the requisite number of state legislatures have voted to rescind."

**8. Powers of the states.** We intend to study further the powers of the states in the United States today, to see whether they can be precisely defined; and if not, to see what actions are necessary to define them.

**9. National convocation.** We recommend that the legislature and the governor champion the

cause of starting change in the federal order by sponsoring in 1982 a national convocation on forging a new federalism. The President of the United States and chief elected and appointed officers of the federal and state governments should be invited as participants.

**10. Legal defense fund.** We recommend that Alaska take the initiative with other states to establish a legal defense fund and organization to monitor and begin legal actions opposing coercive federal restrictions, burdensome regulations and excessive use by Congress of its commerce powers to override state laws.

**11. Self-government for the possessions.** We recommend that the people of Alaska support the efforts of the non-state possessions (including Washington, D.C.) to achieve greater self-government through democratic means.

**12. Noncontiguous states and possessions.** Alaska should set up formal meetings with representatives of Hawaii and the noncontiguous possessions to explore common interests and problems, particularly those which relate to discriminatory transportation laws like the Jones Act.

**13. Sagebrush Rebellion.** We support the work and the spirit of efforts such as the Sagebrush Rebellion, but recommend that Alaska not involve itself in apparently futile court efforts by the Sagebrush Rebels or others to force the federal government to surrender the title of its public domain to the states. Such an effort would waste time and money and raise false hopes.

**14. Research and advocacy institute.** We recommend that Alaska join immediately with other resource states in establishing in Washington, D.C., a research and advocacy institute. It would perform and publish scholarly research on

matters of special western and resource interest, and discuss its findings with the national press, Congress and the administration.

**15. Conference of western states and provinces.** We recommend that Alaska pursue its common interests with western Canadian provinces and territories to the full extent allowed a sovereign state under the Constitution. Alaska should invite other western states to join it in establishing an organization similar to the Northeastern Governors and Eastern Canadian Premiers Conference, now entering its tenth year.

**16. Alaska's share.** We find from our economic studies that Alaska is now more than paying its own way in the family of states. The federal government now earns \$2 or more from Alaska for every \$1 that it spends here.

**17. Tracking federal revenue and spending.** The state government should assign to one of its agencies an annual study of federal spending and gains in Alaska.

**18. Income tax.** We find that the federal income tax falls unfairly on Alaskans and drives up the cost of doing business in our state, distorting investment decisions. Ways must be found to make the income tax equitable for Alaskans and all other Americans in areas with a high cost of living.

**19. Shipping.** We find from our preliminary studies of the Jones Act and of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 that they discriminate blatantly against Alaskans, help drive up the cost of living here, and stifle economic development. We support the efforts by our congressional delegation to amend the 1936 act. We shall make recommendations on both acts in our final report.

## Public Hearings Scheduled

The Alaska Statehood Commission is scheduling a series of hearings on its preliminary report throughout the state.

The first of these hearings, conducted on the Legislative Information Teleconference Network, will be held from 7 to 10 p.m., Mar. 12, 1982 in the Delta Junction, Fairbanks, Nome, Kotzebue and Barrow Legislative Information Offices. We welcome your participation.

Written comments on the executive summary printed here may be sent to:

Alaska Statehood Commission  
315 Barnette St., Suite 205  
Fairbanks, Alaska 99701  
452-4956

Copies of the commission's full preliminary report may be obtained from the office noted above.

John B. Coghill, Chairman      John de Yonge, Executive Director